The Commonweal

December 31, 1948

The Germans Reply

LIBRARY

Dorothy Thompson

THE CIO CONVENTION

THE DUTCH IN INDONESIA

AID FOR THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE

VOLUME XLIX 15c NUMBER 12

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In '49

As the year draws to a close the number of baffling, immediate issues about which some sort of decisions will have to be reached in 1949 is mounting; few things are being relegated to the settled list. In the cold war between Russia and the United States the gradual gains in sympathy and restoration in Western Europe seem to be more than offset by current happenings in the Far East. At home things are relatively calm, but here is part of the prospect:

WASHINGTON—Mr. Truman, now confident of his popular support, promises to take the initiative in going out after major objectives on his program. It will also be interesting to see what effect some of the veteran Southern Democrats in Congress will have on the new progressive legislation which the election was said to insure.

FARMER-LABOR—Will permanent 90 percent parity government supports, or a sliding scale, be enacted early in the New Year? This must be weighed in connection with the agitation for a fourth round of wage increases. For the general rise in the cost of living continues, and it is real wages and what farm produce will buy that matter in this area.

CHINA, JAPAN and INDONESIA—and BERLIN—all the above and other factors, such as housing, education, civil rights, public health and taxes, (not to mention the world of books and the theater) hang on the degree of intensity with which the cold war recedes or develops. It is already obvious that a Communist China requires a far different sort of American commitment in the Far East. Likewise the situation at other key bastions will decide to what extent Americans may devote themselves to largely domestic but world-influencing concerns.

In other words a penetrating analysis of the news each week is indispensable right now. Start the New Year auspiciously by taking out a trial subscription to The Commonweal for the span of these fateful next twelve weeks!

On all yearly subscriptions special Christmas reductions are still applicable until January 15:

Two subscriptions, $11.50; three, $15; four or more $4.50 each.

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER—12 ISSUES

(except for current renewals)

THE COMMONWEAL, 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

FOR $1

Enclosed is $1. Send the next 12 issues to

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

12/31/48

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The
COMMONWEAL

VOLUME XLIX December 31, 1948 NUMBER 12

THE WEEK 291
THE GERMANS REPLY *Dorothy Thompson* 294
THE ACTU AND ITS CRITICS *George A. Kelly* 298
THE BOOK OF RUTH (Verse) *Jessica Powers* 302
COMMUNICATIONS 303
The Commonweal in Indonesia—Sacred Fortress—The American Committee for Free Russia
THE LABOR MOVEMENT *John C. Cort* 305
THE STAGE *Kappo Phelan* 306
THE SCREEN *Philip T. Hartung* 306
BOOKS 308
Yeats: The Man and the Masks—The Miracle of France—Land in California—The Mass of the Future—The Twenty-Six Letters—The Shame of the States—Happy Birthday—Anatomy of Paradise

THE COMMONWEAL *is indexed in the Reader's Guide, Catholic Periodical Index and The Guide to Catholic Literature*
Founded by the Calvert Associates, Inc., in 1924 with Michael Williams as President and Editor.
Published weekly and copyrighted 1948 in the U.S.A. by The Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. MUrray Hill 3-9685. Entered as second-class matter February 9, 1934, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. U. S. and Canada $7 a year. Foreign $8. Single copies 15c

EDWARD S. SKILLIN, *Editor*
PHILIP BURNHAM, *Executive Editor*
EDWARD F. MEAGHER, *Assistant Editor*
Associate Editors:
John C. Cort, Anne Fremantle, Gregory Smith
Kappo Phelan, *Theater;* Philip T. Hartung, *Cinema*
Advertising Manager
John Brubaker

Another War to End Wars?

SWINGING a pick and spade into the bedrock-prose of a committee report published last week gets us down into some soft mud at the bottom of our national security. The Eberstadt Committee on the National Security—part of the overall Hoover Commission studying the executive branch of the government—sets an old word going again: "snafu" in the military establishment.

After noting that considerable unification and efficiency have already been accomplished in and among the services, the committee report gets down to cases like this: "War Production Board reports indicate that some 85,000 tanks were produced in this country during the recent war. Army statistics obtained by the committee, with some difficulty, indicated that about 25,000 of these were on hand at the end of the war. The Army was able to account to the committee for only about 16,000 tanks. It was unable to state what had become of the others. . . . In another item a misplaced figure added some $30,000,000 to the budget estimates. . . . The military budget needs a major overhaul"—an understatement indeed, when "more than 30 per cent of the annual national budget" is right now going to the military establishment.

Digging into the records further, the committee finds this hole in our security: "Within slightly more than a score of years, at great cost in life and property, we have won two wars, only to lose the peace both times through lack of clear and consistent national policy objectives. But the bitter lesson does not yet seem to have been fully learned.

"Our foreign and military policies are not yet firmly tied together. Several witnesses suggested, for instance—and with perfect logic—that the formulation of grand strategy should be prefaced by consideration of the kind of social and material conditions we wished to leave in an enemy country when a military defeat has been inflicted upon it. But the committee found that strategic plans, made without clear guidance of long-term peace aims, were based on assumptions which may or may not be correct; that the military, in other words, were planning how to fight the next war—if this tragedy should occur—without knowing exactly what we would be fighting for."

These are the words of the Eberstadt Report: which is just the official way to break a very sad story to the American public. It is costing us 15 billion dollars a year to support a military mechanism whose end theoretically is to establish and maintain peace. The truth is, says the committee in effect, if the military really do not know what peace aims *they* fight for, and if after two wars apparently no one here has told them, who among us really does know—who does the planning for peace?

Cold Cash, Hot News

THE Netherlands are asking three million *more* dollars for themselves, and nearly eight million *more* dollars for their colonies, from ERP under the Marshall plan next year. The overall figure asked, of over five hundred million dollars, is more than that requested by either Austria, Belgium, Germany, Greece, Norway, Sweden or Turkey. Most of the other beneficiary countries are asking *less*: Germany over forty million less, France eighty-nine million less, Great Britain over three hundred million less. In January, 1948, the Renville Agreement was signed by the Republican Government of Indonesia. This agreement, negotiated at the suggestion of the United Nations Good Offices Committee, provided that the young Republic, not yet three years old, make substantial concessions to the Dutch. This agreement was immediately denounced by the Communists, who demanded the resignation of the Republican government guilty of such concessions. Meanwhile,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Dutch began attacking the Republic as early as January 30, 1948, for violating this agreement, and kept up its steady flow of complaints until November 30. The Communist threat increased the while, and on September 20, Premier Hatta ordered units of the Republican Army to march on Madiun, an East Javan Communist stronghold.

At dawn on Sunday, December 19, 1948, Dutch airplanes bombed Jogjakarta, the Republican capital, in South Central Java. Large numbers of paratroopers were dropped, and most of the members of the Republican Government were captured and held under arrest. The Dutch have issued an ultimatum, insisting that the Republic join a Dutch-controlled federation on identical terms with the other Indonesian states. So far, no single member of the Republic's government has accepted this willyouwalkintomyparlor invitation, though the Dutch continue to announce their intention of setting up a semi-autonomous Indonesian federation.

It had long been feared that the Dutch would use the opportunity afforded by Communist attacks on the infant Republic, to destroy it, and no one at all, least of all the Indonesian, is surprised at what happened. The procedure followed by the Dutch almost identically follows the action of Mr. W. H. Auden's play: the Indonesians were plotting an attack on Dutch territory at, or after, the new year; the date given as that on which the truce was unilaterally considered no longer binding, was the one on which Netherlands forces commenced military operations on a large scale; a time limit of less than 18 hours (including a whole night) was imposed by the Dutch on the Indonesians, to include the delivery of their note to the Premier, the making of the copies, the necessary consultation among members of the Indonesian government, the preparation of a considered reply, the trip from Kalikurang to Jogjakarta, and the flight on to Batavia. By comparison, as Mr. Cochran (the United States member of the United Nations Good Offices Committee) pointed out, Premier Hatta's request to the Dutch for a decision on the resumption of negotiations was not answered a full five days.

This is now all past history. As always, the lamb began to leer, and no one can now halt the lion's digestive process. The League of Nations looked mighty silly whilst Mussolini's brave young sons discovered that potting sitting Abyssinians from the air was a true gentleman's sport; the United Nations looks even sillier while American-trained, Marshall-plan armed paratroopers extinguish a small, young, embarrassed Republic. The Dutch will doubtless find, in no time at all, enough Indonesians to form a puppet Government, and their Indonesia will gratefully federate. Long live the Queen!

Indeed, the immediate significance is nugatory. But in the long run, cowardice may prove costly. If some European economies, which shall be nameless, continue to find themselves unable to manage, even to survive on Marshall plan money, and must have their old colonies back, and even then, require annually more aid, not less, then perhaps the American public may begin to ask an awkward question, such as, just how long are these tares to spring up beside the good wheat? (The good wheat, of course, being those countries who, realistically facing both the present and the future, are yet able to set their own house in comparative, if austere, order.) Shall it be "until the harvest?" And will that harvest be an Asia united in a nationalism vaster than any envisaged even by Japan in her co-prosperity days? Or will it be an Asia reluctantly inviting in a dreaded Communism as alternative to unendurable tyranny?

But these questions are all really only one question. Shall the Netherlands continue to receive ERP, and shall they receive the increases they are asking, or shall they not? The rest is screaming headlines, dignified statements: takers, keepers, losers, weepers.

The Golden Age

ART and Artists should be more encouraged than not, we should think, to hear the chairman of Container Corp. ringingly assert that, "Art must be sponsored." This was the keynote remark at a meeting, held in the Milwaukee Art Institute, of men concerned with the interrelations between business and the fine arts, principally painting.

American corporations increasingly are utilizing, one way or another, artists and paintings. They buy pictures; they commission paintings; they sponsor painters. In fact, *Business Week* reports that "In 1947, Associated American Artists, Inc., a firm that acts as agent for many prominent artists, had billings of $567,000 from industrial accounts alone." Now in a big way there is the corporate art patron.

Who can dispute that "art must be sponsored?" Kings and nobles, the Church, the Government, Renaissance thugs, rich tycoons have successively sponsored art—and all of them many works which are now accepted as great art. At the present moment, it is difficult to tell in what direction this corporate influence will lead painting.

One, and perhaps so far the most important type encouraged by the new patrons, is the free "documentary." Big companies hire the best contemporary artists they can get to go out and paint some kind of pictures or other around the places and operations in which the companies are engaged. Also, a lot of the documentary war art was paid for in the same way—rather indirectly connected to such enterprises as Abbott drugs or Standard oils. Some companies evidently incline toward an illustrative painting of the idea of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their products, with the picture permitted to be quite free of the photograph and older commercial type naturalism. Some firms buy pictures and develop collections like old museums.

From what appears and what is said, there could hardly be more "liberal" patrons for artists. They pay well, and they give the vaguest commissions. We imagine there have been few dukes or prelates in history who have given the artist such freedom. Perhaps it is a last, appropriate climax of laissez-faire. Let us hope it will be made a golden age by the artists, and that once again, as before, they will bring an economy to artistic flower just after that economy has become conscious that its golden age of general achievement has passed.

Virtues in Hybrid Corn

WHEN the population pressure is as intense as it now is in a country such as Italy, great numbers must emigrate and strenuous steps to boost national production are required. In the heyday of the Fascists there was the fanfare over the draining of the Pontine marshes and other spectacular skirmishes in the "battle of the grain," but in the end the régime resorted to foreign adventures to divert attention from hunger that was unassuaged.

Italy is currently more impoverished than the day on which she embarked on her ill-starred ventures. Over two million are unemployed. Greater numbers than ever depend upon national resources which are even more depleted. Consequently, the continuing need of emergency aid. Especially since emigration to colonies is still negligible.

But American experts who have been studying the Italian problem at close hand have agreed on an imposing program of agricultural reform. The reclamation of 2,500,000 acres and the irrigation of 1,250,000 more are leading items in a plan which involves experimental stations, individual help, training at home and abroad, local irrigation facilities, etc. Hybrid corn (which local tests indicate as capable of increasing production by 50 percent without additional labor or fertilizer) is to play a key rôle. Our ECA experts in Italy say that every thousand tons of hybrid seed brought there will increase farm income by more than $5,000,000.

To introduce new foods to an ancient land of set habits is almost an insuperable task. But it has been done. The Hoover Commission after the first World War met the problem by public demonstrations at which a uniformed American chef, famous for his cornbread, showed those who gathered round just how to make it and then distributed the end product to all who would partake. Our chef was such an artist that cornbread is popular with the Belgians even to this day. The emphasis in the Italian plan, however, lies in another direction—corn for fodder, to build up livestock as a solid source of income; for plastics and a new industry; for starch and glucose and sugar.

Yet there are reservations to make about this glowing prospect, even beyond the query whether all this will be nearly enough. Corn is an exacting crop; its continued cultivation is a drain on any soil including the peerless, deep "black velvet" of Iowa and nearby acreages. What would its effect be on long-cultivated or newly-reclaimed Italian soil, particularly if the idea to make Italy the hybrid corn center of Europe is carried out. No doubt our Italian experts have an answer to that worriment if they have been thinking in anything but the most desperate, immediate terms. For they have right at hand a grim reminder. The hillsides of Sicily, which in ancient times served as the granary of the Roman Empire are today mercilessly stark and barren. Erosion has taken long since its bitter toll.

Aid for Russia

WE ARE publishing in the Communications Column of this issue an appeal by the American Committee for Free Russia, which has among its founders some of our collaborators. Such an appeal, and such a committee, as it takes form at the beginning, must present only a few things, only a few ideas which cannot add up to the complete view of any one person or any group. They can, however, offer a more or less clear direction, and can call together persons who will work out the practical route along that way.

More than military and more than a diplomatic policy is needed to deal with Soviet Communism. More than a general pious protestation is required to prove that it is possible to be friend of a people while being the avowed enemy of the Government and the principles which are ruling them. Effort to find that way is worth while. For her own safety and liberty, and for all the world, America must struggle against the Soviets to "contain" them, and, ultimately, to see their Communist Government displaced at home as well as abroad. And this is not only a government, nor exclusively a material job. The work of peace and persuasion must be carried on every possible way.

The citizens of the United States played a great historical rôle in the fight for the freedom of Czechoslovakia, Ireland and Poland. Let us hope that the Americans and other democratic peoples will one day be proud of the rôle they assumed in seconding the efforts of the Russian people and of all nationalities of Russia to transform their land into a home of the free. The famous Russian exile writer, Alexander Herzen, dreamed in his time (1812-1870) of the influence of American liberty on the future liberation of Russia. Since then, autocracy has taken a new form in Russia, but the Russian people are still longing for freedom and the Russians may still be shown hope and active friendship.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Germans Reply

Letters to Dorothy Thompson

TWO weeks ago we published an article by Dorothy Thompson which appeared in October in *Die Amerikanische Rundschau* and later in *Die Neue Zeitung*, in the American zone of Germany. This article, Miss Thompson tells us, has brought a considerable response from Germans in all walks of life, but especially from members of the professional classes. From these Miss Thompson has given us a few of the most representative.

Characteristic of nearly all of them, Miss Thompson says, is an almost embarrassing and sometimes effusive gratitude for an open letter written in an affectionate and brotherly spirit. Over and over again, correspondents express their sense of spiritual isolation, and their hunger for contact. Though personal complaints are kept in the background—and not one single correspondent, Miss Thompson reports, asked for a food package!—the candor of Miss Thompson's article has evoked in return candid criticism of Western allied occupation policies; some of this criticism is expressed in the letters published here. Miss Thompson takes no responsibility for the validity of the criticisms, which do however reveal how policies appear to obviously intelligent Germans. There is repeated complaint about the lack of public discussion on even the most fundamental and far-reaching policies.

The most constant factor, appearing in a majority of all the letters, and reflected in several representative ones here, is the hunger for a just and righteous social order, eschewing violence, and based on revivified Christian principles.

Miss Thompson's article, evoking these responses, was so evidently alarming to Western-zone communists that the Leipzig radio devoted fifteen minutes to denouncing it.

From a Woman (Hamburg): One could hardly believe, before reading your letter, that there were people abroad who in any way understood our country—our existence, our feelings, thoughts, achievements, teachings, politics, and all that lies behind us. For three years we have read articles about Germany, the thousand years Reich, the international processes at Nuremberg sentences and executions, the new political parties and their quarrels, but what penetrates into our very sub-consciousness is nothing but screams, hatred, blindness, revenge, prestige—nothing that brings us forward. . . . We are not unthankful for many things from America, and we have learned much, very much. *We want no more war.* But we have lost very much—sentiment, good-nature, loyalty, faith—these are buried in chaos. No one will believe that many, many Germans did not know what was happening behind the scenes. We learned the horrors only with the lost war. Those who had been persecuted held their tongues in order not to land again whence they had been. Yet I believe that there is health in our younger generation. We do have a European civilization that goes back many hundreds of years, and out of it will draw, eventually, its true lessons.

Sometime, we know, must come a true democracy, based on brotherly affection.

But in what form has "democracy" actually presented itself to us? As bolshevism in the East, of which Americans still do not understand a fraction. As the Morgenthau Plan, which many Germans still believe represents the Western attitude. As a form of military law which violates all that we remember from pre-Hitler times of objective impartial justice. . . . I speak less of the hunger of the body, which is gradually leading to an anemia of the brain and listlessness of spirit than of the hunger of the heart. . . . For words that assuage that hunger, thanks, thanks, thanks!

From a Woman (Stuttgart): Your words moved me deeply and joyfully and continue to occupy my thoughts, for the warmth of faith animates them.

But it causes me serious concern that you advise us to consider the German East as lost and concentrate on German rebirth in a Confederation of Europe. Certainly the latter is our most prayerful wish. But please consider that the East is not "territory" to be relinquished. It is people to stand by or desert. And where are the frontiers of "Europe"? I come from South Germany but lived thirty years in Berlin. I learned to know not only the Eastern Germans but the other European peoples east of the Elbe. I leave out of account for the moment the fact that this East is the breadbasket of Central Europe; this East has also cultural achievements reflecting the European genius in, for instance, architectural works of the highest expression from the Gothic to the most modern time. But forget fields and stones. Of German people more than ten million have been driven from their homes to live far away under the most wretched circumstances and in the diaspora of these people certainly three and one-half, probably four million, died. This mass-migration occurred under the banner

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the triumph of "the humane-democratic powers" . . . a contradiction which unsettles the reason. . . . We see nowhere a synthesis between words and deeds. . . .

Can I call for a crusade to liberate these desperate people of the East? Hardly. But we must think of them, and not merely write them off through love of our own comfort, and hope for some special happiness in Western Europe. What is "Western" Europe? Where is its moral power, its spiritual concepts? Can one overcome the century-old contradictions between the states by the very best economic "planning"? Is weakened France, with its perpetual government crises, called to the leadership? Or conquered Germany, even weaker, with its 14 million embittered refugees? Or Italy, threatened as it is with revolution?

In order to overcome the anachronistic egotisms of Europe's separate states, the New Europe must be obsessed with an ethical-political *idea.* But I say honestly that not yet—not *even yet*—are the times ripe. Not even yet, apparently, has this portion of the globe eaten sufficient bitter bread. If once a red army had stormed over the soil of France and Italy, perhaps then would all the barriers between Europeans be broken, and all of us driven together to the creation, at any cost, of a real European community governed by just law, protecting the smallest of its members and ending the exploitation of one people by another.

Every decent person loves his home, state, people—in short his own stable, and this feeling must in justice be granted the defeated, since it is common to all humanity. Each European people should retain it but above it we must create a European citizenship and loyalty to this mother-hearth of the whole culture of the West.

The occupation powers—and the "powers" that be—neglect the women, despite the fact that in Germany, at least, they are a large majority of the population. May it not be that from and through them, (whose physical sufferings have equaled those of men, and whose spiritual sufferings—above all for the children—surpass those of men), may come the maternal *cthos* that will bring Europe to order and to peace? Only in a new ethos, born of our horrifying knowledge of the reality of evil and good—a knowledge no longer abstract or platonic—can our world be reconstructed.

*

From a Professor: You have written an open letter to us full of the spirit of truth. Such an attitude invites us to present some truthful criticism of Western policy in return.

On the economic side, criticism which seeks to tell the truth cannot be one-sided. Just one example: five parts of coal produce one part of nitrogen, and this, as fertilizer, raises grain production. Coal is exported; nitrogen is imported. When the German economy receives $75 for coal it pays $300 for the same amount of imported nitrogen that could have been extracted from that coal; and since insufficient nitrogen is imported, agriculture loses the exported coal without being able to transform exports into balancing imports. For every $75 of coal exported, nutrition is lost in arithmetical proportion, which loss is borne by the American taxpayer. Obviously the only rational thing to do is to rest the German economy on its internal resources and their most rational use, at least to the extent that it produces most of its food and basic necessities. But many factories for artificial fertilizer are on the dismantling list, and neglect essential repairs for lack of steel, etc., while the legal uncertainty of all concerns destroys the last remnant of rational effort or any intensive economic development among German entrepreneurs.

The lack of rationale works to raise prices and depress wages; the demand for socialization grows. And the Russians are delighted. Price and wage screws, despite the brutal currency reform, accelerate the inflationary movement. The socio-political consequences are intensive strangulation of all enterprise in the face of an every-growing need. Stalin grins. To halt this, imports are demanded and foreign credits are contemplated. These are water for the Russian propaganda mill, while both imports and loans are at the cost of the USA, for with such an entirely irrational economy Germany can never pay them back, unless (or probably not even if) the Germans are reduced, for generations to robot-slaves. Here economic measures are taken which will boomerang, not only on us, but on the whole West.

We need statesmanship, which is not only the art of Power, but the art of analyzing social causes and consequences with a view to the creative and peaceful reconstitution of human society. . . . What we miss everywhere is regard for *truth*. We need *truth* more than we need "democracy" or any other form of society.

In America the militant and national spirit (which you condemn) must nevertheless grow, now, or you will go down.

You have conquered the now distressed world market, no longer however as those simply engaged in trade, but as those who must struggle with sales and prices in the chaos of power-politics and this will gradually threaten both your political and social system at home.

You have let communism into a spiritually sterile street; this pest of all civilization and culture you have neglected and overlooked. So you must now, in the worst possible position, take up the fight with your mortal enemy.

You have misunderstood the vengeful instincts of impoverished masses; actually you have awakened these instincts and buried the bases of freedom. You, too work to reduce all to one low level, and therewith nourish the power that seeks your own throat. So you must turn and change, at a moment when previous policies have already destroyed valuable psychological substances.

You continue to see in us your enemies when we hunger and thirst to be your friends; we are caught between two millstones, so that we must, out of the very nature of things, seek to be your friends. But are you not also forced to choose, either to receive our friendship and let us live as others live, or watch us slide into the desperation of irrational revenge?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

. . . We know that we, in western Germany, can find no better trustee of our fate than the Americans. And we are grateful. But let one who has lived in that other "thousand years Reich" whisper to you that between the vision of statesmanlike genius, such as is represented in the Marshall Plan, and its practical application still lies the haughtiness of the Conqueror.

. . . Perhaps you will not understand me. We see our salvation in you. But you are in danger, and need us, too. That we dare to point out what seem errors is justified by what you, Miss Thompson, wisely see, is a common destiny.

From a Man (Bavaria): Your good words to Germans require a reply. Madame, the evil forces in mankind grow daily stronger. Therefore the men of good will should come closer to earth.

More and more persons and peoples are in danger of spiritual death. Then they are worthless for God. Unless those who will the good are able to create an *ethical* world order, the bell will really toll for mankind.

A summary of several letters dealing with de-Nazification, all from members of the professional classes:

I wish some responsible, truth-loving journalists would make a thorough-going study of de-Nazification as it is carried out in the Western zones.

From all reports that reach us, de-Nazification in the Russian zone is non-existent. Some notorious Nazis were executed, others deported from there, but the Russians and the German communists don't ask what you *were* but where you stand now, and what you are willing to do to help communism. Even former Gestapo agents have escaped punishment and win cozy berths by entering Russian espionage and other services.

In the western zones, however, every person has to go through a bureaucratic mill, based on questionnaires, the outcome of which determines whether one is classed as simon-pure anti-Nazi or falls in various classes, better or worse, with punishments which determine one's very existence. The procedure encourages mendacity, punishes the truthful and rewards successful liars. Every German knows that thousands of persons, who were never party members, aided the Nazis in their worst atrocities, and that among party members were men who worked selflessly to try to overcome and stave off the crimes and errors of the state. Every dog in the street knows that today there are Nazi scoundrels in some high offices while innocent persons are driven out of their professions, many of which are desperately understaffed—medicine, school-teaching, etc.

From a Woman (Berlin): In all that we have read, you are the first to offer us what we need more than bread—hope and faith. . . . These times have torn the mark away from so many things, and the great question lies open before us. Civilization or barbarism—Christ or Caesar. Truth, truth, truth!

From a Man (Stuttgart): Complaints are not becoming to us. Yet, I feel called on to say that my religious background was the same as yours, my father, like yours, was a pastor, and I was never, therefore, a national socialist. I never joined the party and tried to perform my profession as well as I could The Red Cross where I worked voluntarily was "gleichgeschaltet," the professional unions ruled by the party. So we got into conflicts, not severe at first, but increasing more and more. Then crimes were committed; we heard of them by rumor and never knew their full measure; we should have opposed. But that meant martyrdom. I was not strong enough for that. May God forgive me. So we *were* guilty. Yet it is not true that our consciences were wholly dead. I shall never forget my misery at reading that 10 Poles were hanged because one German policeman had been shot. Responsible men warned the Fuehrer. They were sent to prison. The most courageous tried to kill him. No attempt succeeded. It was as if God tolerated him in order to reveal the dreadful might of evil to mankind. When war was over we hungered and thirsted after justice and humanity. It is true that great (and astonishing) kindness was shown us by Christian sects and thousands of American individuals. Yet American diplomats admitted the exile of millions of people. . . . We are now expected to resist communism on your side. We understand, perhaps better than you, the enormity of that task. Perhaps that will be the last mission of Germany in Europe—to pass away altogether; to halt the final disintegration by the total sacrifice of all our lives, all our existences. God only knows.

A bitter letter: I read your article. Very nice of you, but there are very few in America or anywhere else, who could sincerely express any hope for or faith in us. We know we have been sentenced to be the eternal pariahs, and our children, born and unborn, too.

Just when your article appeared we were treated to the currency "reform." It wiped out 70 percent of all German savings—I suppose as a measure against "communism." Well, I can tell you that while you win a battle with the airlift, you lose another with this reform. Whenever a revision of policy is indicated, "prestige" stands in its way. America seems very light-hearted about what she will face after throwing away the sympathies which were at first laid at her feet. It is a strange way to fight the "dictatorship of the proletariat" by reducing everybody to the lowest possible level, by wiping out at one stroke the last pitiful remnants of savings. What will become of me, God knows. I am old and in ill-health and the subsidies I will now receive too little to sustain life. Not that it matters. But if a whole people come to feel that nothing matters, it will hardly help to reconstruct anything.

From a young woman artist: I am a sculptress, trying now to fulfil a dream that came to me under Hitler. In the sea at the entrance to the port of New York stands "Liberty enlightening the world." I will erect in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ocean at the entrance to Germany in the Baltic a statue of Christ, carved in solid granite, sixty feet high. . . . I have worked three years on the model, in a 1,200-year-old monastery. Take an interest, please, in this to which I have dedicated my whole life, though I am still in the twenties. The vision came to me in childhood, and rose again at the beds of the wounded, bombed and dying in the Charité in Berlin where I spent the last horrible six months of war. I call to you across the ocean. Germany must be the country of Christ, of love, mercy, brotherly cooperation, and peace! Only in the spirit of Christ will we find our democracy.

*

From a young teacher: Your article impels me, a pedagogue, 32 years old, to write you about the problem of school reform. In the German press, and therefore in the public, practically nothing is being said about this. Nevertheless behind the scenes an organizational change in school life is being planned which corresponds to nothing hitherto known. Fundamentally this does not arise from German sources but from control-directive No. 54. The Soviet zone has found a radical solution: all children are to have eight years of common education, learn Russian from the eighth grade onwards, and can attend a high school, whose form and content has little relation to any Western educational system—but a report about the conditions that prevail there is not the purpose of this letter.

The Educational Department of the United States Military Government in Berlin is autonomous for the American zone and in it a Herr Carsen plays a leading role. Herr Carsen was, after 1919, director of the Karl Marx school in Berlin and emigrated to America in 1933. This department at first confined itself to receiving and giving advice. Since the beginning of 1948, however, it has undertaken to lay down binding rules for the reorganization of German schools, and to reject all recommendations that do not conform with these. Especially in Bavaria, which has displayed a cool attitude toward the plan, is this rigid attitude observable.

There are people in America also who are not in sympathy with this form of "kultur-politik" of the Military Government. For instance, the President of the University of Chicago declared at a church memorial celebration on the eighteenth of May, 1948, that Americans did not wish to autocratize the German school system. You yourself write against the forcible dogmatic application to Europe of any special social, economic or political system. But apparently this genuinely democratic view has no influence on the military government. Five weeks ago the director of the Military Government of Hesse, Mr. DeLong, at the teachers' conference in Darmstadt (and also in other places) declared that there was to be no further discussion over the introduction of a single form of school for all children (from six to twelve years old); with or without German consent it would be introduced. The plan promises that there are to be no distinctions between grade and higher schools but that each grade shall follow and be built on the other, with transition classes, as is customary in the USA. The present high schools must vanish, because they are "class" schools and prevent the democratizing of Germans. Free tuition must create equal educational opportunities for all.

This is all very well but fails utterly to take into consideration the catastrophic financial condition of the German states. . . . In any case, Germany for generations has provided stipends for less privileged students. Nevertheless this plan has been introduced; in Bavaria one hopes to accomplish it by a special school tax. In Hesse Mr. Delong has announced it will be uncompromisingly put through. . . .

No one in German educational circles doubts the necessity of searching reform and we owe the Americans a great deal for much practical help and advice. But our higher school teachers are almost all of the opinion that the first necessity is not such a radical change in organization—and one which the existing economy cannot sustain—but an *inner* reform, a reform of content, to extend to all school books and teaching practices. Actually, for 2½ years a committee of school experts has been working on this without being able to exercise any influence on, or even establish contact with, Military Government. German university professors and pedagogues (see *Die Neue Zeitung,* January, 1948) have repeatedly advanced arguments against the plan, which, whether sound or not, are supported by reasonable arguments that deserve answers in reason and, at least, public discussion.

I can see nothing to be gained by unconditional surrenders in the cultural field. The essence of the German memorandum [submitted to the Hesse Minister of Culture] is unwillingness to accept blindly a plan of German education that developed under totally different conditions from ours, and which, from all I have been able to learn of American education, is far more rigid than yours—which, for instance, provides special education for exceptional children, and includes many private and experimental schools.

I wish, above all, that more of us could study the American school system on the spot! Surely it is in harmony with the democratic spirit that reforms should be tested before universally applied.

(Note: The memorandum referred to above is enclosed by this correspondent; it welcomes American offers to receive advice, and rejects, first of all, the plan for grade school education to continue through eight school years before students are classified for more particular education. I quote): We hold ourselves responsible for criticizing such measures as we sincerely believe are unsuited to our present circumstances and in which we see dangers to the spiritual and economic existence of our people. They should not be carried out in blind obedience, masked as German responsibility. We hold, furthermore, that education, if it but be pursued in a humanistic spirit, is a German matter and a natural German right. In matters spiritual there can be no unconditional surrender.

We oppose at this time a lengthening of grade school education from six to eight years, on the following grounds: From a social and political standpoint the ar-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

guments are ill-founded. For a very long time the higher schools have ceased to be class schools, and war and collapse have removed the last vestige of such a basis. The concept of the "rich" as synonymous with the "educated" exists only in propaganda, and arises from an already outlived concept of class warfare. Freedom of education should open higher education to every talented child. The high schools, in our concept, are the frame in which all talents should be cultivated. In the six years of common education, the gifted worker's son is most disadvantaged, for he lacks the advantage of the child from better educated parents who enters school with a degree of education already acquired. These advantages become greater the longer the passage from the common school to the higher school is postponed.

Two: The idea that it is only possible to establish after eight years the child's capacities for higher education does not conform to our general experience.

. . . At the age of ten most healthy children show special interests and talents. The freshness and liveliness of children in the fifth and sixth grades should be used to direct them to concepts of their life work. The division ought to begin here that will turn further education into technical, scientific, mechanical, or other directions, such talent groupings to be educated by different methods. . . .

Three: Changes of schooling with the beginning of adolescence are psychologically unfavorable. The child should, by this time, have lived himself into trustful relationship with his teachers and fellow-students. This should happen *before* he enters the disturbing period of puberty. A change at thirteen can lead to disturbances of development, when inner insecurity meets new intellectual demands, and is confronted by new personalities and conditions.

Four: The unity of the teaching profession, which the reform proposals sharply emphasize, is a good thing. This unity must be alive in our consciousness, in order to lead us to a lively and vital professional attitude. If this is to be more than a slogan, this responsibility must be guarded in selfless devotion to the work with young persons, in order to help them to a life that corresponds to their education and talents. The essential education of the teacher is preparation for this task. Since his services in the various branches of the school system must vary, his own education must vary. In recognition of this fact the proper practical feeling of responsibility will display itself. But despite outer variations regarding ways and means, the unity of the inner situation must exist; to be called, in a time of great need, to lead a much endangered youth to responsibility. Only those who really struggle with this task are truly called to teach, but true solidarity between all educational groups and true respect for each other fails when, in all discussions regarding unity, public indifference or state interests play a role. (Note: The memorandum then criticizes the precedence given to teaching method over educational substance, which is actually a curse of American schools.)

. . . When we come to the preparation of teachers—the proposed way to this goal appears to us incorrect. If, after graduation both future grade and higher teachers must spend two years at a pedagogical institute, each is in a totally different situation. The future grade teacher already has mastered most of his material and can rightly concentrate on teaching methods. The future teacher of higher learning must actually get further knowledge at the university. One cannot teach anyone how to teach what he does not yet know. The teaching methods of the grade schools must be different because the educational goal is different. . . . A study of six university semesters is entirely insufficient. Mere "training" is the worst form of half-education. . . . How can such a teacher lead students to do their own thinking? Such education can train a student to be an uncritical follower of a totalitarian regime, but will not create the personalities we need for the reconconstruction of our German life and Western culture. . . . What we would most welcome is a general public discussion of these problems.

The ACTU and Its Critics

GEORGE A. KELLY

FROM THE time of its establishment almost twelve years ago the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists has been the object of criticism. Its work from the beginning was destined to be controversial. No one can work with trade unions or for organized labor without losing a few friends. It is not surprising, therefore, that the ACTU has incurred the opposition of select employer groups, certain labor leaders, and the Communists.

One thing the ACTU did presume: the good will of right-minded Catholics and non-Catholics. This presumption rested on the fact that no less a personage than Pius XI authorized its work, or at least something very close to it. The words of the Holy Father have become almost a refrain among ACTU members: "Side by side with these (neutral) unions there should always be associations zealously engaged in imbuing and forming their members in the teaching of religion and morality so that they in turn may be able to permeate the unions with that good spirit which should direct them in all their activity."

For the past five years, however, there has developed a growing criticism of the ACTU in Catholic quarters. Originally, the criticism of the ACTU that came from Catholics was spoken quietly in class rooms, hotel lobbies, and private gatherings. Occasionally, but very occasionally, these Catholic objections broke into print. More than four years ago the COMMONWEAL published a letter written by the present writer in answer to Father George G. Higgins of the NCWC, who had previously cast doubt on ACTU methods. But no

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

answer has seemed satisfying to these critics. The objections still continue to be raised. The only difference now is that the critics are shouting their objections from the roof-tops.

It is an auspicious time, therefore, to re-examine the doubts about the ACTU, particularly since they have now been incorporated in a book. In *Catholic Social Action,* by Father John Cronin, the outstanding criticisms of the ACTU are repeated in one way or another. For many reasons another attempt must be made to meet these objections head on. In the first place, Father Cronin is an assistant director of the Social Action Department of the NCWC. Among many Catholics he is considered an authority on labor matters. Secondly, his book, to the knowledge of the writer, is the first attempt to clothe these criticisms of ACTU with the form of scholarship. Undoubtedly, his judgments will turn up in the footnotes of scholarly dissertations. Finally, the Communists and the diehards in the labor movement will use Father Cronin to discredit the ACTU among Catholics.

In my mind there are three things wrong with Father Cronin's treatment of the ACTU. What he says definitely puts the ACTU under a cloud. He leaves the impression that the ACTU must be looked upon with suspicion, even by Catholics, for many years to come, or at least until it adopts his point of view. More importantly, what he does *not* say makes his treatment one-sided. The book glosses over the admittedly good points of the ACTU with a hurried phrase, while devoting several paragraphs to what are considered to be the bad points. If my only knowledge of the ACTU came from reading *Catholic Social Action,* I would be very doubtful about it too.

The most serious objection I have to his treatment of the ACTU, however, is the manner in which he evaluates its work. In his discussion he presents a controversial opinion under the guise of objective reporting. Father Cronin never associates himself directly with any of the judgments he makes about the ACTU. Every adverse comment is introduced by the following phrases: "It has been argued that . . . ," "Many Catholic leaders are doubtful. . . ," "Some labor leaders have said . . . " The statements which follow then become, not merely the opinion of one man but the considered judgment of authorities who remain anonymous. Later on in the book Father Cronin gives his own estimate of this type of reporting. Speaking of certain anti-labor reporters who hide their bias under a factual style, he says: "The factual group of columnists are on the whole less reliable that those who openly express opinions. It is not merely that predictions, inside information, and similar material are hazardous. What is worse, this group often voices opinions in the guise of objective reporting. A paragraph opening with 'it is well known in Washington that . . .' or 'reliable experts agree that . . .' may often contain violently slanted and partisan opinions. Such a procedure is dishonest, since it presents a controversial opinion under the guise of objective reporting" In the view of this writer, there is little difference between the anti-labor statements of columnists and the anti-ACTU views expressed in *Catholic Social Action.*

The work of the ACTU is basically educational. Its labor schools teach courses in the ethics of industrial relations, labor problems and history, parliamentary procedure and public speaking. Its newspaper reports labor news. No one will deny that this is education, available to Catholics and non-Catholics alike.

★

Labor school work is only the first step in the ACTU's educational program. These labor schools have not closed their doors long when some of their graduates return to the ACTU for a different kind of education. A busy day at an ACTU office would find the following interviews taking place: "I am a business agent of Local 3. When I attended Hayes Labor School, your teachers told me that workers had the right to strike for a just wage. We have just gone on strike. Will you publicize our case? Perhaps you can spare a few pickets? We would like one of your chaplains to speak at our strike meeting."

Or this case: "I am a member of Local 100. I attended Sacred Heart Labor School. You told me that trade unions were organized to help the workers. I have just been fired because I criticized my union president."

Or still another kind of interview: "Our union is controlled by Communists. They are forcing us to go out on strike against our will. They are spending our money on Soviet causes. What can we do about it?"

When these cases come to the ACTU, the officials of that organization have only two choices. They must reject all such appeals, or they must give their assistance, when the circumstances require it.

If the ACTU decided to reject all such appeals, in effect it would be saying to the workers who spent sixteen weeks in its school: "The only education we provide workers is book knowledge. We live in the world of abstractions. From now on you are on your own. If you do not know how to apply the principles we taught you, that is your own misfortune." Had the ACTU followed this line of action, its labor schools would have closed down years ago, or, at the most, remained open as centers of mental gymnastics.

Right from the start, however, the ACTU knew that labor school work alone was inadequate. It was the beginning of education, not education.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The workers needed help which spoke louder than mere words. The ACTU decided to give that help. The history of the ACTU shows that assistance has been given to countless individuals and groups, who otherwise would never have been able to elevate the moral tone of their unions.

It is the assistance given to groups of workers that has been most frequently criticized. What kind of help has been given these union groups? When a group of longshoremen, telephone workers, teamsters, or electrical workers, faces a difficult problem within their union, the ACTU establishes a "Conference." This conference will include Catholics and non-Catholics, Negroes and Whites, Democrats and Republicans, any and all right-minded workers interested in correcting some abuse within their union. The ACTU lets these workers use its meeting hall, its mimeograph machine, its files. If they want the assistance of a lawyer they may have it, free of charge. If they want the advice of an experienced ACTU member, they may obtain it only for the asking. This conference meets at its own pleasure. They discuss their problems. They establish their goals. They plan their strategy. Thus armed, these men are in a better position to return to their unions to correct whatever needs correcting. It is in these conferences that the workers are really educated. They educate themselves and each other.

What, then, are the main objections against the ACTU technique? They are two: first, the ACTU represents "outside interference" in the internal affairs of labor unions; secondly, the ACTU is divisive. Or as Father Cronin puts it, "It has been argued that outside intervention, whether by clergy or by ACTU, is an unhealthy innovation. The reason cited is that these activities, however well-intentioned, give color to the charge that we are forming a Catholic bloc within unions." Let us consider each of these charges in turn.

1. *Outside Interference.* Whether the ACTU really represents "outside interference" depends on what one means by "outside" and by "interference."

It might be well at the outset to remind our readers that this is a favorite criticism of the ACTU given by officials of the AFL, although not confined exclusively to them. More than three years ago, Dan Tobin of the Teamsters wrote his local unions, warning them not to allow religious groups to interfere in their internal affairs.

But are ACTU members really "outside" the labor movement? A first hand study of the facts denies that they are. The members of any ACTU conference are always union members. Even the officials of the ACTU are paid up members of their own unions, and frequently leaders of those unions. ACTU members, therefore, have every right to be concerned about the internal affairs of their unions.

It may still be objected, of course, that members of the AFL have no right to interfere in the internal affairs of CIO unions or that ACTU members of the Newspaper Guild should refrain from concerning themselves with the rights and wrongs of the Building Service Employees.

To this objection the ACTU makes the following response: the internal affairs of any labor union are directly and immediately the responsibility of its members. But a labor union is not a private club. What happens within the union frequently affects others. A labor union, therefore, has social as well as individual aspects. For this reason, the internal affairs of labor unions are indirectly the concern of others beside the members of a local union. In order of importance these interested parties include the members of the same international union, members of the labor movement, employers, public-spirited citizens and civic-minded groups, and finally the government itself. When local union members prove that they are unable or unwilling to remedy abusive conditions, which have social implications, then other interested parties have the right to help correct them. This is good Catholic philosophy and perfectly in harmony with the Papal principle of subsidiary function.

*

The ACTU, therefore, maintains that its activity is justified on the basis of the failure of particular unions to clean their own house. It argues, further, that unless such a group as the ACTU does perform this function the more restrictive and less kindly hand of government will interfere. No one can deny that this reasoning is sound. The Taft-Hartley Act has interfered with the internal affairs of good labor unions as well as bad ones. The good unions have been regulated precisely because the bad unions have remained bad. CIO members have a right to be concerned about the racketeering elements in the AFL. AFL members have a right to be alarmed about the Communists in the CIO. The labor movement is one movement regardless of its jurisdictional divisions. That means that all its parts must operate for the good of the whole. No one union can escape interference, if it is harming the good of the whole.

What the ACTU does for labor unions may be likened to what Northern liberals are trying to do for the Negro in the South. No one denies that the Negro has been deprived of his rights in the South. The South, however, demands that it be allowed to handle the problem in its own way and to reach a solution in its own good time. The South, too, adopts a hands-off policy. But the civic-minded people from outside of the South

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

recognize that this is not merely a Southern problem. It is a national problem. On that basis they justify the interference of the Federal Government through anti-poll tax laws, anti-lynching laws, and FEPC's.

Similarly, members of the ACTU may be "outside" a particular labor union, but they are "inside" the labor movement. On that basis alone they have the right to concern themselves with trade union evils.

The only "outsiders" connected with the ACTU are the priest-chaplains. And here we come to the nub of the problem. The ACTU looks to its priests for moral and prudential advice, nothing more. The priests do not control the ACTU, nor should they. The ACTU is an organization of lay union members. The ACTU disavows any attempt by priests to dictate to or control this lay organization. The Communists assert that the ACTU is clerically dominated, but those who know the facts, know that they lie.

Much of the criticism directed at the ACTU should be directed against certain priests who, by their presence at union conventions and caucuses, "give color to the charge that we are forming a Catholic bloc within unions." The ACTU, for example, was blamed for techniques proposed by one of the ACTU priests. But whatever criticism can be leveled against these techniques should be brought against the priest involved, not against the ACTU as a whole.

The charge of "interference" is equally misleading. Some interference is good, other is bad. The ACTU has never interfered with labor unions to the extent of telling them that they must ask for a ten cents an hour increase, instead of five cents an hour. There are many internal affairs of labor unions which go unnoticed by ACTU and for the very good reason that such affairs are none of ACTU's business. But other aspects of trade unionism have received the attention of ACTU, and for very legitimate reasons: Communism, corruption, violence, and racketeering.

A false distinction is sometimes made between ACTU schools and ACTU conferences. The schools are not looked upon as interfering in the labor movement, but the conferences are. Actually, however, if any interference occurs, it begins in the labor schools. What is the difference between telling people in a class room that certain trade union practices are immoral, that certain kinds of unions are corrupt, and allowing these students to use ACTU facilities to eliminate the practices which the school has taught to be immoral. At most, there is a difference in degree.

If our labor schools are more acceptable, it is not because certain labor leaders like our principles, but mainly because they consider the teaching of principles harmless. It is only when attempts are made to apply these principles that charges of interference are made.

Those who criticize the ACTU for interference are inconsistent. Labor leaders, for example, expect and await ACTU interference on their side. They use statements by bishops and priests to support their causes. They call upon ACTU and other religious groups to fight for friendly labor legislation. During organizing drives and strikes they come to the ACTU for speakers, pickets, money and literature. It is only when the ACTU criticizes them that they charge interference.

2. *The* ACTU *is divisive.* This is the favorite argument of the Communists. The complaint against the ACTU's divisiveness has been made by Communists and fellow-travelers since 1939. For a complete statement of their point of view I refer the reader to the pamphlet "The Members Run This Union," by James Matles, organizational director of the left-wing United Electrical Workers—CIO.

★

Recently, a group of Communists in the UE attacked the ACTU with this exhortation to the union membership: "Today, we face an all out attack by big business and its agents. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that the trade union movement unite its ranks as never before. It must unite its ranks to carry on a real struggle against those who would divide us either on the basis of race, color, nationality, religious or political belief." This was the answer of the Communists in the UE against the fight of ACTU members to destroy their stranglehold on the union.

Non-Communists, however, ought not to adopt this line without examining the facts. What are those facts? The best argument that can be offered to explode what is only a Communist myth is that the ACTU in more than ten years has never caused such divisions.

As a matter of fact the ACTU's relationship with Protestant and Jewish labor groups have been harmonious. When the "United Rank and File Educational Committee," a non-Catholic group, was formed in New York, the ACTU helped it get under way. Non-Catholic labor organizations have used ACTU facilities and manpower for ten years without division or warfare.

To argue that the techniques of ACTU *might* cause religious divisions is one thing; to argue that they *have* caused such divisions is quite another. Conceivably, somewhere, sometime, a bigoted group of Catholics might abuse the ACTU method to promote the political causes of Catholics within trade unions. Human beings have been known to distort and abuse even the best institutions.

Some people try to make a case out against the ACTU on the grounds that membership in the organization is confined exclusively to Catholics. The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ACTU has no theoretical objection to the admission of non-Catholics to membership. As a matter of fact, the ACTU provides an "associate membership" to non-Catholics. If non-Catholics are excluded from full membership in the ACTU, it is for very practical reasons. In the first place, following the dictates of Pius XI, the ACTU was made a moral and a *religious* organization. How could retreats, days of recollection, Labor Day Masses, communion breakfasts, be fitted into the program of an organization which included non-Catholics. The non-Catholics themselves would be embarrassed. In the second place, the program of the ACTU is based on Catholic social principles. Not all non-Catholics would agree with us on those principles. If the executive board of the ACTU were controlled by non-Catholics, as it might well be if non-Catholics were members, would it be fair to expect them to implement the full Catholic social program? If the non-Catholics had no scruples about cooperating with Communists, would the Catholic members of the ACTU be able to go along with them? These are real problems which cannot be solved by pious wishes that conditions were otherwise.

As the ACTU is set up now it adheres to Catholic principles and solicits the aid of all right-minded men in applying those principles. This may be divisive in the eyes of the Communists, but not to the members of the ACTU.

Some of our critics maintain that there is little difference between what the ACTU does and what the Communists do. Such a contention represents shallow thinking. The Communists seek to dominate the labor movement. The ACTU has no such ambition. The Communists serve the cause of a foreign power. The ACTU serves only the cause of justice. The Communists use immoral means to obtain an immoral end. By no stretch of the imagination can the ACTU be described in this way.

If the reader wants a fair and objective treatment of ACTU's purposes and methods, I refer him to Norman McKenna's pamphlet "The Catholic and His Union" (Paulist Press). McKenna is not unaware of the *potential* dangers in the ACTU approach to labor problems, yet he concludes: "There is nothing wrong in using right political means to achieve a right political end. There is nothing wrong in Christian trade unionists using political means to change the political complexion of a union, but when they do so, they must not only be scrupulous about ends and means, but also be wary of the dangers attached to the use of politics. . . . The Catholic unionist is seeking not so much the election of particular *personalities* (to union office), as he is seeking the election of particular *principles*." This is a far different judgment of the ACTU than the one made by Father Cronin.

I would like to conclude these remarks by putting the finger on what I believe to be the real source of opposition to the ACTU: certain labor leaders. Certain labor leaders, particularly the strong and affluent ones, do not like the ACTU because they do not like criticism. They want to dominate their rank and file completely. They want to run their union to suit their own pleasure. To "outsiders" they have the same hands-off policy that governed the thinking of businessmen fifty years ago. Unfortunately, some of them have been corrupted by the power organization has put in their hands. For very good reasons, therefore, they object to ACTU activity. And many of the Catholic critics of the ACTU have listened to their complaints too sympathetically. If the ACTU has made mistakes, it should be criticized, but that criticism should come by chapter and verse. The ACTU will profit from detailed criticism and at the same time have the opportunity to defend itself against false charges. But whispering campaigns, back-handed remarks, and vague generalities are not fair to the ACTU.

The Book of Ruth

The dedicated of the Blessed Mother
Discover their prefigurement in Ruth.
They dwelt in Moab, in a pagan darkness
Of sinfulness and self,
A country never colonized by truth.
The Son of Mary Who had found and claimed them
Departed by a death within the senses.
They stood bewildered in a plundered youth.

Where could they go? They chose the new Noemi,
Her people and her God, the distant, strange
Land of the spirit, higher Israel.
Her soul's kept sun destroyed their inner cloister
Of night; they took horizons in exchange.
Known mode gave way to the abstruse and alien
Designs of life her counsels might arrange.

What was the end then of their self-donation?
The Mother's wisdom, deep and esoteric,
Became their prod.
She bade them seek, in faith's chaste, reverent darkness
Him Who is slumbering with His Heart awake,
Who is by mercy mystically unshod.
The Godhead is the soul's eternal Lover.
By grace of their alliance with her Son
She bade them creep up humbly and uncover
The Feet of God.

JESSICA POWERS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Communications

THE COMMONWEAL IN INDONESIA

Jogjakarta
Republic of Indonesia

TO the Editors: Enclosed is a letter from Monsignor Soegiopranoto, Bishop of Semarang and presently leader of the Catholic community in the Republic of Indonesia.

When the Dutch army attacked the Republic some seventeen months ago Monsignor Soegiopranoto left Semarang, which Dutch troops had captured, and came to the area left to the Republic. With him came most of the Catholics from Semarang. The same pattern was repeated throughout Java. A priest who came here from Ambarawa told me that out of over 200 Catholic families in that town all but seven followed him into the Republican-controlled area of Java after the Dutch army had entered Ambarawa. Indeed, I imagine the best index to the attitude of Indonesian Catholics can be found in the fact that though the Republic lost more than half of Java to the Dutch following their attack in the summer of 1947, more than 40,000 of the 46,000 Indonesian Catholics in Java are now to be found within the Republican-controlled areas.

The arrival of THE COMMONWEAL in the Republic has done much to bring Indonesians here into contact with currents of thought outside. Currents of thought concerning social problems, indeed, progressive social ideas in general, are not entering the Republic from the West except for a trickle that the British Information Service manages to force through the Dutch blockade. The American Information Service in Batavia is hopeless; even though equipped with a larger staff and considerably more funds than the British Information Service, the best it can seem to manage is to get a few copies of *Time, Life* and *Newsweek* up here. During the three and a half months I have been in the Republic the United States Information Service has sent exactly one person into the Republic and he stayed less than six hours. It is a bit ironic that the outstanding student's organization in the capital of the Republic, Jogjakarta, after fruitless efforts to get reading material concerning social problems from the Batavia office of the USIS, did finally get some reading material of this nature from the Bangkok office of the USIS via one of the infrequent planes that fly from there to the Republic. (There is a bi-weekly air service from Batavia to Jogjakarta provided by the UNO's Committee of Good Offices which the USIS in Batavia can utilize freely.)

You might be interested to know that before handing over THE COMMONWEAL to the Catholic library here (a library of pitiable proportions, not containing over 200 books, and they are old volumes in Dutch) I have let some of the leading Moslem intellectuals here read it. They are very well impressed with it and nearly fight with one another in order to read it first when it arrives.

I plan to be in the Republic for another four months, and if you can continue to send me air-mail THE COMMONWEAL, I will see to it that it is well read by appreciative people here. GEORGE MCT. KAHIN

TO the Editors: Through the intermediary of Mr. George McT. Kahin we have begun to receive THE COMMONWEAL. To you we are deeply indebted for this and we wish you to receive our warmest thanks. Indeed, your magazine is our first contact with progressive thought in your country. I have long sought to convince the Catholic youth of our Republic that America is not the land of black reaction that the Communists here have told them. Most of them are indeed very surprised to know that America is a land where there are thirty million Catholics. But they are most surprised to learn from your magazine that Americans are not all "capitalist reactionaries" as the Communists here have told them so much. The revolt of the Communists has been stopped by our government. But the appeal of Communist ideas remains strong so long as the Dutch blockade us—as they intensively now do—letting no food, no cloth, no mail, no books, no magazines, no ideas in to us from the outside world. Your magazine has begun to let ideas in to us—not just about what is really happening outside, like news. More importantly it gives us to know that it is not just the Communists who like social justice. It gives us to know that Americans also want this and that they want protection of the individual and to allow for his development too. We hope, too, to find that they want these things and freedom for colonial people too. Please continue to send us THE COMMONWEAL so we are not closed off from the outside.

Most Rev. S. SOEGIOPRANOTO,
The Bishop of Semarang

"SACRED FORTRESS"

Chicago, Illinois.

TO the Editors: I have read your review of *Sacred Fortress* with very much interest and appreciation and also with a little amusement. As a whole, you have been as generous and understanding a critic of my book as an author can wish. I only regret that my preface seems to have been open to so much misunderstanding.

You find "too much tone of surprise" in my presentation of the spiritual vitality of early Christian art. This surprise may reflect the reactions of my students — not only here at the University of Chicago but also in the Catholic colleges in which I have taught—to whom I tried to convey the meaning of those great monuments. But such surprise has always seemed to me a significant —and encouraging—sign that he who marvels is becoming aware of his own position.

My preface attempted to make the reader measure with me the full distance which separates the spirit of the early Church from our own barren shores. Evidently I have not been successful. But not everything that we recognize as distant from our world is "archaic." Still less are things necessarily trifling because measured by our standards they appear as dreams or play. I would remind you of Guardini's remarks about the liturgy as a play; I would remind you, moreover—even more appropriately on this day—of Divine Wisdom "playing before Him at all times." (Incidentally, I have not reserved for myself "a position outside the faith I appreciate." I have been a Catholic for only twelve years but a Christian for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

36—and a pagan for but a few inconsequential and pristine days of my life.)

Very sincerely yours,

Otto G. von Simson,
Committee on Social Thought,
The University of Chicago.

THE CHIEF REGRET of the reviewer in writing about Mr. von Simson's book was that, in the space and with the abilities available, it was impossible to express more fully his admiration for the meaning, in mind and heart, which the author gave to the dogma and liturgy, as well as to the politics and entire historical experience, which are embodied in the art of Ravenna. In regard to "surprise," it is perhaps the intelligence and sensitivity of the reader which must be called upon to distinguish clearly and confidently between the sense of *wonder* before such excellent presentations of religious and human truths, and surprise at the fact that these are the truths which were monumentalized in famous Christian art. In this, I don't believe the author helps the reader as much as he might. The "distance" which Mr. von Simson places between Ravenna and our day and circumstance simply seems to me, as a matter of opinion, excessive. It is impossible not to feel with him how lacking we are in awareness, appreciation and practice of our religion, but at the same time, the Mass and other rites and liturgies of the Church in themselves bring us close to the early days of Christianity, and *Sacred Fortress* itself brings to mind and adds to a vital historical, religious, and liturgical literature and movement which do have contemporary effect. The Church is alive. The argument is that by stressing so much the separation, and taking for granted the continuity, a reader may be incorrectly moved to feel that the archeology given him is "archaic."

Mr. von Simson writes "dreams *or* play." Normally, those are not synonyms, and we are not given the special meanings that might make them so in this work. Placing William Butler Yeats in the very important position of the Preface adds to the reader's problems those which arise from the mysterious and beautiful works of the poet, some of which he said came to him in his or his wife's very odd dreams indeed. And Yeats's position toward Christianity was not clear, as Mr. von Simson's so definitely is.

Philip Burnham.

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR FREE RUSSIA

New York, N. Y.
December 8, 1948

THE COMMITTEE is created to bring spiritual help to the Russian people and all the nationalities of Russia in their fight for the establishment of human rights and democratic freedoms in their fatherland, so that the great moral and social values that gave inspiration to the Russian Revolution may be revindicated and preserved, as the American and French peoples preserve the heritage of their Revolutions.

Despite all violence and totalitarian crimes of the Communists in Russia and Europe, we are wholeheartedly committed to saving the old friendship of the Russian and American peoples and their collaboration for the benefit of both those nations and of humanity.

Humanity is living in a deep anxiety engendered by the repeated violent overthrow of the national governments of different countries by the Communist minorities. Only the liberation of the Russian people from the chains put upon them by Communist dictatorship can save us from this growing menace.

During the war all classes of the Russian people and of all nationalities within Russia met the challenge of the Hitler onslaught with indomitable courage. Many expected that after the victory freedom would be restored in Russia. But Russia is still suffering in her chains, and millions of her sons are slowly perishing in the concentration camps.

Should this enchained Prometheus, the Russian people, free himself and should this liberation entail the convulsions of a revolution, we are convinced that the American people will in no case permit anybody to exploit this immense crisis to spoil the heritage of Russia.

We believe in a future democratic Russia and demand that the integrity of her frontiers and the freedom of Russia to determine the forms of her political, economic and social life in the frame of democracy shall be strictly respected by the nations of the world.

According to our information on the internal processes and trends in Russia, if the dictatorship were overthrown, the popular masses would there demand that the future democratic system include some fundamental reforms which we could sympathetically welcome as steps toward social freedom and justice in Russia:

(1) The suppression of the Communist dictatorship will be followed by free elections. The state will secure the free use of printing and radio facilities to every regular democratic party for the purpose of securing them equal opportunity in the free elections.

(2) Heavy industry will remain state property, administered with the participation of free labor unions.

(3) The peasants will be granted the right to establish private farms, without prejudice to the national agricultural productivity.

(4) A Bill of Human and Civic Rights and Freedoms will be accepted immediately. The right of assembly and association will be proclaimed among the inviolable rights of the citizens. Religious liberty will be granted, and freedom of religious education assured. The Uniates, one of the most cruelly persecuted among religious groups, will be given permission to regain their Church and to take possession of their places of worship.

(5) Real political and cultural autonomy within the framework of the Russian Federation will be granted to the nationalities of the border regions of Russia.

(6) Every policy of entanglement and intervention in the internal affairs of neighboring states such as Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Finland will be immediately abandoned.

(7) Foreign policy would be based on friendship with the United States, Britain and France in the framework of the United Nations.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Trends such as these fit creatively in the democratic and peaceful world order.

It is our belief that in all democratic countries groups will gladly form to support this purpose of aid to the Russian people, and will join with this committee to establish one greater movement. We will welcome the participation of Russian democratic exiles who share our program and who yearn for the liberation of their country and the establishment therein of a true democracy, as of others in America who are concerned for this great end.

For the Committee: *John Broderick, Philip Burnham, Nathan Chanin, Boris Gourevitch, Charles Gouverneur Paulding, Albert Simard, Eugene Spectorsky.*

The Labor Movement

The CIO Convention

THE CIO convention was held in Portland, Oregon, this year, but the echoes of the battle that was fought there were heard throughout the country, if not around the world. For the first time since the CIO was founded in 1935 the issue of Communism was squarely tackled and thrown for a loss. For the first time the resolutions on foreign policy and political action were not unanimous.

It wasn't even close. The most that the Stalinists could muster, out of 600 delegates, was 49 against the resolution condemning the third party movement of Henry Wallace. The vote on the foreign policy resolution, which backed the Marshall Plan by name (unlike last year) and strongly criticized Russia, was about the same.

The real battle, of course, was in the mind of Phil Murray, popular president of the CIO, before the convention began. Up to this year Murray had always held his restive lieutenants in line and prevented an open floor fight in the interests of unity. This year Walter Reuther and Emil Rieve, the auto and textile leaders, headed up a faction which, before the convention, was calling for an all-out war, even going so far as to suggest lifting the charters of the Stalinist unions.

Murray refused to go that far. But he was willing to go pretty far. In a series of powerful speeches, supported ably by Reuther, by Rieve's right-hand man, George Baldanzi, and others, Murray took the Communists apart and exposed in detail their hypocrisy, their twisting turns, their slavish fidelity to the Party line. After he saw the enthusiastic reaction of the delegates—and it was wildly enthusiastic at times—it is possible that Murray decided to go further.

At any rate, since the convention these things have happened, either by vote of the executive board or of the top officers of the CIO, as empowered by the convention: 1) Jurisdiction over federal employees has been taken away from the Communist-controlled United Public Workers and a new international will be created to organize this field; 2) the Farm Equipment Workers, a Stalinist union, has been ordered to merge with the United Auto Workers; 3) the Office Workers and other small CP-controlled unions have been given notice that the CIO will probably move in on them soon with organizing committees.

The approach that Murray is using is to move in on the ground that these unions are failing to organize the unorganized. This is being done with some, but not complete, consistency because the national CIO has now transferred jurisdiction over retail workers from the anti-Communist but inept Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Unions (president, Samuel Wolchok) to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (president, Jacob Potofsky). The test of success, however, leaves the Stalinists still riding high in their powerful big United Electrical Radio & Machine Workers.

★

So much for the negative, housecleaning aspect of the convention. On the positive side the most notable thing was the speech delivered by John Brophy, in behalf of the resolution on Industry Councils. Brophy has a long and honorable record in the labor movement. He fought John L. Lewis in the United Mine Workers back in the 1920's, running on a platform of democratic reform. Many say that if the ballots had been honestly counted, Brophy would be president of the miners today. Later he made peace with Lewis and since the founding of the CIO he has been a key man in the national office. Although he has a strong sense of organization, Brophy is a student and an idealist. He looks beyond the immediate objective to the ultimate goal of a good society.

As readers of THE COMMONWEAL know (see his article in November 12 issue) Brophy is one of the strongest advocates of the Industry Council idea in the CIO's official family. (By the way, the phrase "Industry Councils" has now received a kind of blessing from the American Bishops "to designate the basic organs of a Christian and American type of economic democracy.")

Brophy made it clear that this plan, as the CIO has envisioned it since 1940, has nothing to do with the soft, conservative company unionism with which the Communists have tried to identify it. Tried to identify it, although none of them have ever dared to oppose it on the floor of the convention either by voice or vote. This is the way Brophy put it: "Both war and peace call for industrial planning. We say that such planning must be comprehensive, and must cover production levels, employment levels, the rate and nature of capital investment, and technological change, price ceilings, wage floors, guaranteed annual wages, the size and location of industrial plants, the utilization and conservation of natural resources and the many problems in the fields of labor relations, public information and foreign affairs.

"We call for suitable legislation to confer these benefits on the American people. We call for industry councils in order that the people may participate directly in planning and administration."

According to the resolution this planning would be done through the organization in each industry of "an Industry Council composed of representatives of organized labor, industrial management, and the Government, and where possible of ultimate consumers." Further, "there should be a National Production Board on which

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

there would be representatives of organized labor, farmers, consumers, industrial management and Government." Finally, "the planning and administrative process should involve an interchange of ideas and decisions between the Industry Councils and the National Production Board in order that a general national plan may be evolved by democratic methods, and adjusted and perfected constantly over a period of years."

A companion resolution urged the President's Council of Economic Advisers to take the lead in promoting such a plan. So there you have it once again. Not as specific or detailed as some people might like it, but for that reason perhaps more likely to be accepted, because it recognized that none of us has all the answers, that many of the details can only be worked out by trial and error, by consultation and compromise, by the give-and-take of democratic process.

In short, the CIO is still showing the way in promoting a practical solution, a program of economic reform that could lead us out of the valley of boom-bust capitalism past the quicksands of fascism and communism to that not-impossible land of freedom *and* security.

Those who have been following the controversy in these pages on Christian Industrialism will be interested in another part of Brophy's speech. It was this: "Another important point is the question of plant location and size. This ought to be planned through our government and industry councils under suitable law, so that we can begin building cities to fit our people, instead of forcing people to fit the cities."

So you see, even in a big mass-production organization like the CIO there are men who are thinking about these problems and pushing, pushing—slowly but steadily—toward a Christian solution.

The next most notable thing at the convention was the address of the Most Rev. Edward D. Howard, Archbishop of Portland, which was delivered by the Vicar General, Father Thomas Tobin. This address was worthy to be included in the growing line of progressive CIO convention speeches by Catholic Bishops, of which Bishop Sheil's and Archbishop Cushing's were the first. If the Bishops will only keep it up, perhaps we can convert the Catholics to their own social program.

JOHN C. CORT.

The Stage & Screen

Lend an Ear

A VERY small revue—imported and played by a group of young people from Hollywood—is supplying most of the talk-of-the-town at the moment. It's a pretty amusing business, but I rather imagine its real promotion will depend upon an outrageously funny take-off on the musical shows of the 20's and upon the discovery of one Carol Channing. Miss Channing is a large and versatile girl and in the aforementioned number, clad in knee-waisted chiffon (orange) and a determined *cloche,* she managed to rivet the house while merely leading out the chorus. I should say the evening was hers from then on.

The subjects under examination by Charles Gaynor, who is both author and composer of the show, are not any way political. And while this is unquestionably a relief, perhaps just *for* relief, there might have been some slight reference to the world on this side of the footlights, or screen. After all, even movie actors are supposed to be alive. However, this will seem a graceless quibble up against such neat comments as "Neurotic You and Psychopathic Me," "Three Little Queens of the Silver Screen," or the old Opera deal, better done than I have ever seen or heard it. It is Mr. Gaynor's music which slows the works. I like very much the scheme of duo-pianists supplementing his orchestra, but all of the songs which are not derivative, are dull; and right in the midst, there is a solid imitation of the "Allegro" technique which seriously damages one's previous convictions of wit. This is a show which is carried by its lyrics, and certainly by its players. William Eythe, Anne Renee Anderson, Gloria Hamilton, and George Hall, all know what they are doing and, together with Miss Channing, obviously like their job. I think you'll have fun watching them. (*at the National*)

KAPPO PHELAN.

Who's Afreud?

THERE'S no industry like the movies for wearing a trend thread-bare. Having discovered psychology, the films are going to use and re-use the subject until we all wake up in a cold sweat screaming "Freud!" But let's skim over a couple of the new entries as objectively as possible.

Everyone knows that the patient, when being analyzed, may very likely fall in love with the analyst; but when the psychiatrist falls in love with the patient, that's a horse of a more unethical color. And that's exactly what happens in *"Let's Live a Little,"* a supposed comedy in which Robert Cummings, as an advertising executive, calls on Psychiatrist Hedy Lamarr to plan a campaign for her new book. Because his nerves are frazzled and he has his vest on backwards, he stays to be analyzed. Bob falls for Hedy; Hedy falls for Bob; and the conclusions are as unscientific as anything the movies have had to say about psychology. At times the humor succeeds in winning a laugh, especially during the scenes kidding the advertising business. Most of the jokes, however, strain too hard—except in one lovely slapstick scene that gives you an excellent opportunity to project your anger against the movie: Cummings calls on Anna Sten, a client in the beauty preparation business, and they wind up slinging gobs of cold cream at each other.

We're never quite sure in *"The Return of October"* just how wacky the heroine, played by newcomer Terry Moore, really is. She believes that a race horse is her Uncle Willie who returned to the earth in this guise after his death because he was so fond of horses. James Gleason gives such an amusing portrayal of Willie the man that he makes the transition almost credible. But this girl falls into the clutches of a psychologist (Glenn Ford) who's doing a paper on the emotional relationship between man and animal. In a series of scenes that are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more superficial and coy than funny, he seems to egg the whimsical young lady on—until he has all the material he wants to publish "The Study of a Delusion in an 18-year-old Girl." And it turns out that this paper is just what this girl's dishonest relatives are looking for to prove her insanity. The courtroom sequences that follow get bogged down in discussion of man-animal relationships, and one is very likely to suspect that psychologists are even quackier than the movies portray them. Race track enthusiasts, however, will love all the horsey stuff.

The central character in *"Miss Tatlock's Millions"* isn't really crazy at all, but he pretends he is. John Lund who plays this rôle does a typical vaudeville interpretation of a man called nuts, complete with thick glasses, blubbery talk and idiotic gestures; all this is inspired by Barry Fitzgerald who is supposed to have the real insane man in charge. The plot gets more than a little complicated as it goes along and Lund's actions get more and more screwball when he realizes he is successfully fooling all the greedy heirs whom he is cheating out of an inheritance. Although the good cast, which also includes Wanda Hendrix, Monty Woolley, Ilka Chase and Dorothy Stickney, makes all this seem very funny indeed, it suddenly dawns on you that Producer Charles Brackett and Director Richard Haydn have thrown good taste to the winds. Anyone who thinks that insanity, with an added touch of incest, is subject for humor may have some good laughs at all this buffoonery; everyone else better leave Miss Tatlock and her millions alone.

I wish that the makers of these films as well as the makers of future pictures on psychology would see the documentary movie, *"What's On Your Mind?"* which is soon to be released for the general public. Cinematically this movie may not win any prizes for acting, direction and such; but scientifically it puts most of our so-called psychological films to shame. It starts as an illustrated lecture, first poking a little fun at the how-to-win-and-influence books, and then explaining a few terms and the use of various aids like the Rorschack tests, finger painting, shock treatment, group therapy, etc. Then the film gets down to three specific problems: "The Feeling of Rejection," produced and directed by Robert Anderson, which tells the story of a young woman who never got over being a model child; "Problems of Sleep," directed by Jane Massey, which uses a series of illustrations to put over some good points on nature's builder-upper about which we know so little; "The Feeling of Inferiority," directed by Maurice Goldberg, which does an excellent cinematic job of explaining a high school misfit who was helped by her intelligent teacher. These good illustrations deserve credit for not trying to cover the whole field of psychology in one gulp; they present their material well and in a manner that the layman can follow; and they prove interesting for their stories about people who needed help and fortunately got it from understanding doctors, teachers and parents. Parents particularly will find "What's On Your Mind?" enlightening and entertaining; but so will anyone else who is interested in understanding his fellow-men.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Just Published

DANGEROUS TRENDS

How Undercurrents Economic and Political Affect Education

196 pp., red silk cloth, $2.00

31st Edition:

HANDBOOK OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS

1024 pp., red silk cloth, $8.00

Still Available:

"MAD OR MUDDLED", 196 pp., red silk cloth, $2.00; "THE CONTINUING BATTLE FOR THE CONTROL OF THE MIND OF YOUTH", 168 pp., red silk cloth, $1.50; "THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION", 256 pp., red silk cloth, $2.00; "WAR AND EDUCATION," 512 pp., black vellum, $4.00; "BETWEEN TWO WARS—The Failure of Education, 1920-1940", 616 pp., black morocco cloth, $5.00.

Circulars and Table of Contents of these and other current volumes on request.

PORTER SARGENT

11 Beacon Street Boston 8, Mass.

"The finest motion picture I have ever seen."—C. A. LEJEUNE, *Distinguished Critic of the London Observer.*

MONSIEUR VINCENT

The Life Story Of

ST. VINCENT DE PAUL

Starring

PIERRE FRESNAY

Dialogue in French ● Complete English Titles

A Lopert Films Release

AT BOTH THEATRES

AVENUE PLAYHOUSE 6th Ave. & 47th St. PL. 7-4295 55th ST. PLAYHOUSE Nr. 7th Ave. CO. 5-9438

In THE COMMONWEAL Next Week

Democratizing Japan?

Richard L.-G. Deverall

O Morning Stars Together

Harry Sylvester

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books

Yeats: The Man and The Masks. Richard Ellmann. Macmillan. $5.00.

MR. ELLMANN, Briggs-Copeland Assistant Professor of English Composition at Harvard, has writen a scholarly yet wholly readable book about the great Irish poet and Nobel Prize winner. The purpose of the study is implicit in the title. It is a question, however, whether in spite of Mr. Ellmann's discerning analysis—he has had the benefit of consultations with Mrs. Yeats and some 50,000 pages of unpublished manuscripts of the poet—he has succeeded in disentangling the man from his masks. Yeats was a many-sided man, as can be testified by this reviewer who saw a great deal of him in the years between 1912 and 1930. Scarcely a subject, whether literary or of vital public interest, that did not interest him. One of the conversations, for example, this writer remembers, took place at Oxford in 1919, when the poet buttonholed him and, at tea, subjected him to a host of questions about Bolshevist Russia, from which this writer had recently returned. His curiosity about all things was terrific. Specifically, though, there is little doubt that at a certain period mysticism and psychic phenomena interested him above all things, except possibly the poetic craft.

Yeats' life, according to this account, has been one long unceasing struggle to find himself. This struggle involved revolts of all kind, violent quarrels with his father who had influenced him and from whom he reacted; it involved him, too, in taking up the nationalist cause of Ireland and to become one of her senators. In this cause and in the Abbey Theatre he submerged some of his individuality; he seemed indeed to be running away from himself a great deal of the time. And he took a rather round-about way to find God. It is not clear whether he found Him or not. During the last years in particular he strove to come to grips with "reality," which appears to have eluded him. He was none-the-less a great seeker; he realized toward the end his own faults which were the barrier to a successful quest; he freely admitted that his own timidity and "lack of courage" were at fault, and that the problem was "not artistic but moral." He recognized that he was, indeed, so many masks, which concealed the real self, and it is this real self which the author makes so valiant an effort to extricate from the poet's various appearances. As a critical biography this book is excellent.

JOHN COURNOS.

The Miracle of France. André Maurois. Translated by Henry L. Binsse. Harpers. $5.00.

WHETHER or not one believes in miracles in the literal sense of the term, one must concede that this history of a region and a people is well above the ordinary. Mr. Maurois has written similar surveys of English and American history; this of his own country is the greater challenge. If (proverbially) love is blind, what of historical objectivity? And if one knows not only the trees but the *mille fleurs* carpet beneath them, what of the forest? Yet these circumstances do not on the whole interfere with the detachment of Mr. Maurois' narrative and doubtless contribute to his sensitive handling of an extraordinary amount of fact material, his apt quotations and lucid judgments, his emphasis on cultural rather than economic forces. As a result the vast panorama of French civilization unrolls before our eyes—from the Mayors of the Palace to de Gaulle, MRP and the Third Force, from cave paintings of "reindeer and buffalo" to the techniques of the Impressionists to Bergson and Proust—"one of the loveliest and the happiest in all the world."

With a survey of this sort written by a man of letters not a professional historian, critics will inevitably find points of disagreement, especially in the latter part of the book where the material is so highly condensed as to make adequate qualification difficult. For example the economic causes of the French Revolution are slighted and surely some distinction ought to be made between German and Austrian responsibility in July, 1914. While the translation is felicitous the commonly used term Estates General conveys the meaning of *États-Généraux* better than does the term States General used here. Would too that Harpers could be persuaded that a picture book in the middle of a volume is a poor substitute for illustrations in appropriate places. Yet much of this criticism is minor, and there can be little dispute about the pleasing character and basic distinction of Mr. Maurois' synthesis.

This distinction in turn lends support to two theses: the first, France's miraculous power of recovery after disaster—the Hundred Years War, religious struggles, 1870—the second, evident from the medieval heyday of the University of Paris on down to our time, "belief in France's universal mission." Whether or not these theses are the *raison d'etre* of Mr. Maurois' book, his belief in them will encourage his readers to hope, as he clearly does, that France will answer the disasters of today with her greatest miracle and reassume her historic rôle in the upbuilding of a universal society.

FRANCES S. CHILDS.

Land in California. W. W. Robinson. University of California Press. $4.00.

"HOWEVER small it is on the surface," said Charles Dudley Warner, speaking of his homeplace, "it is four thousand miles deep; and that is a very handsome property." This love for his land is the common share of all landowners. The thoughtful man paces his beloved ground and thinks of those who in generations past have stepped it off, lived on it and loved it. Perhaps he sees in his mind's eye that his handsome property is not only four thousand miles deep but that it has growing on it its own family tree—the family tree of ownership.

Land in California is the story of the tree of ownership of the Golden State from Indian days until now. It traces the history of that ownership through the times of the missions, the gracious years of the ranchos, the hurly-burly of the gold rush down to the present, when ranchero has given place to realtor. It is a difficult task to cut and prune the tree of ownership that grows on any man's land so that simplicity and symmetry appear through the tangled branches but this Mr. Robinson has done and done very well. The wonder is that, in the vast tangle, he knew so well what to leave and what to cut away. Although as vice-president of the Title Insurance & Trust Company of Los Angeles, he has a detailed technical knowledge of his subject, he never

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

loses sight of his objective, which is to convey simply and concisely to the layman the absorbing story of the mission lands, the ranchos, the squatters' rights, the mining claims, the railroad grants, the contrasting histories of San Francisco and Los Angeles, and all the elements that go to make a chain of title more than a mere litany of names. The tree of ownership has roots and branches and the sap of life in Mr. Robinson's treatment. He has written a book that is a genuine and not merely a sentimental addition to Californiana.

JAMES L. DUFF.

The Mass of the Future. Gerald Ellard, S.J. Bruce. $4.00.

IT IS NOT often that I come upon a book which moves me to say, "Here is a book I must read, if I do not read another book all year." Father Ellard's *The Mass of the Future* is just such a book. As erudite as Migne's *Patrology,* as absorbing as the latest detective novel, one knows with the very first page that here he has got his teeth into something solid.

The title of the volume is somewhat misleading, chosen doubtless for its attention-compelling value. Actually, "The Mass of the Future" occupies only the last one-third of the book. The first twelve chapters are taken up with a history of the Mass—a history that is anything but dull and dry. Here we see the Mass unfold and develop: the once-a-week Mass of primitive Christians gives way to daily Mass; concelebration of Bishop and Elders cedes to celebration by individual priests; reception of the Eucharist by all present at Mass, is replaced by infrequent Communion as a reward for virtue, then full cycle back to Pius X; the offertory procession succumbs to the offertory collection, and the choir-loft lifts the corporateness from worship; the "No Latin!" cry of Luther and his cohorts freezes the Mass in its lingual shell.

All this and much more, leads to the second section of the book, "The Mass of the Present." In these twelve chapters the Mass of today is exposed to kindly but realistic scrutiny. Defects of attendance, defects of understanding, defects of participation, defects of celebration—each is examined and remedies suggested, remedies which range from microphones on the altar to an integration of Communion with Catholic Action. The definitive encyclical of Pius XII, "Mediator Dei," is quoted in full insofar as it touches the Mass, and constitutes the transition chapter to Section III, where the Mass of the Future actually begins to take shape.

It is in these last twelve pulse-quickening chapters that Father Ellard's creative imagination, disciplined by tradition but powered by today's urgent need, pictures for us the Mass as it can be—and, please God, as it will be. Admittedly there is room for controversy in much of what he offers, but there is far more room for humble consideration. From the adoption of a fixed date for Easter to the introduction of special votive Masses for occupational groups (A Mass for a Grocers' Association, for example); from the admission of the vernacular to the Mass, to the limited restoration of concelebration and offertory procession; wide is the range of Father Ellard's prophetic eye.

It is unfortunate that a book so stimulating and so well mounted by the publishers, should suffer from a bit of unfortunate mechanics. The author has chosen to

How Do You Feel?

If you have a headache it will occur to you to take an aspirin. Millions of people in the missions seem to have headaches! We can send them aspirin at a very low rate, excellent quality. Send us $10 and we will send 15,000 aspirin tablets to the missions. The next time you have a headache think of this please. Send your Check to

THE CATHOLIC MEDICAL MISSION BOARD

10 West 17th St., New York 11, N. Y.

Read
THE LABOR LEADER
for

- **Concise Summaries of the Labor News.**
- **Comment on that News.**
- **Personal Interviews with Important Labor Leaders.**
- **The Catholic Answer to Labor Problems.**
- **Cartoons by Willock, Photos, Commentary by Don Capellano, etc.**

Published twice a month (once during July and August) by the Ass'n of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU).

All for $1 a Year! Simply clip and mail—

THE LABOR LEADER C1248
226 LAFAYETTE STREET
NEW YORK 12, N. Y.

Enclosed is $1.00. Send THE LABOR LEADER for one year to:

Name .....

Address .....

.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

introduce *each paragraph* of the volume with a Latin phrase, quoted from the Fathers, the Missal, the Encyclicals, etc. Seldom are the phrases translated, and even for priest-readers they are a distraction rather than an enjoyment. For non-Latinists, they will be a positive annoyance. Perhaps the author is aiming purposely at that very annoyance. Possibly he is seeking to emphasize the ridiculousness of Latin where Latin is not needed. If such be his object, he succeeds admirably. But the annoyance is a small price to pay for the pleasure that this book gives.

LEO J. TRESE.

The Twenty-Six Letters. Oscar Ogg. Crowell. $3.50.

THIS IS EASILY one of the best turned out books of 1948. And so it should be, for Mr. Ogg is one of America's foremost calligraphers. It is not only, however, lovely to look at and delightful to know, it is profoundly satisfying. For the letters are psychologically important, the shape and feel and story of them are part of the certainty that "very old is the rose" and "very old are we men." From the bull-headed Egyptian Apis, to the Phoenician Aleph, the Greek Alpha to our Roman A, is genealogy for every man; when Adam delved and Eve span, still O was a female sign and E or I were phallic ones; eye plus water equaled weep, and woman plus broom was wife, and woman plus son spelled love. The transitions are the most exciting: from hieroglyphic to symbol, from idea-pictures (the setting sun for death) to letter-sounds (the mouth for R). The history of the discoveries is almost as exciting as the history of the letters themselves: the story of Champollion and the Rosetta stone, of the Tyrian stone of Mesha, of Gutenberg and printing.

The pleasures of reading are tremendously increased by the type. And to read this book of Mr. Ogg's gives the same physical pleasure as drinking from a Sèvres cup, or eating off a Dresden plate. Here the eye is caressed as well as instructed: by the beauty of Visigothic, French Familiar, Rusch, Holle, Aldus Italic, by the splendor of the capitals—SPQR or Sabean; by every page, line and word of this scholarly, enchanting and universal book.

ANNE FREMANTLE.

The Shame of the States. Albert Deutsch. Harcourt. $3.00.

THE PLIGHT of America's 600,000 institutionalized mentally ill is at long last getting serious attention in several states. The author of this shocking book everywhere found confirmation for the sensational picture stories published in *Life* and elsewhere. Only in degree does the situation of dangerous understaffing, overcrowding, wretched food and lack of any remedial treatment vary from state to state and from institution to institution. The wonder of it is that there have not been more disasters by fire or deaths by violence than have been recorded up to date. Here is one human area in which our vaunted American democracy has been woefully remiss—our neglect and inhuman treatment of these unfortunates is literally appalling.

Mr. Deutsch and his cameraman spent but a few hours at each place but things are uniformly so bad that the situation was always obvious. One of the most revealing statistics shows that although "at least $5 a day should be expended for the care and treatment of each patient, the per capita daily cost in state mental hospitals in 1946 averaged less than $1.25." It is impossible to read this book without wanting to do something about it. Individual citizens can demand and support appropriations that would provide humane facilities and/or contribute to such organizations as the National Mental Health Foundation, Inc. of 1520 Race Street, Philadelphia, which has enlisted a number of prominent men and women in the cause of these forgotten fellow-Americans.

E. S. S.

Happy Birthday. A. A. Milne. Dutton. $3.00.

WHAT THIS group of stories lacks in verve is made up in polish. They are stories to put one in an agreeable mood, for Milne slips in magical juxtopositions and sly wit to sharpen up the hackneyed and the routine. A little wearisome, if taken in large doses, each story is an impeccable writing performance. They vary from the murder yarn to the fairy story and include satire, sentimental realism, and straight twinkles.

VIRGINIA BENNETT.

Anatomy of Paradise. J. C. Furnas. Sloane. $5.00.

TO READERS who remember *And Sudden Death,* the name of J. C. Furnas will be familiar. In his most recent book, *Anatomy of Paradise,* he has produced something much less sensational, but just as absorbing reading.

The sub-title of the book on the dust-jacket is worth quoting: "Hawaii and the Islands of the South Seas and their peoples . . . what the white man has done to them and they to him. The history and the literature, the legends and facts, vivid and complete." To this should be added Mr. Furnas's main thesis: that, like it or not, as a result of the last war the United States has become responsible to a great extent for these islands and their peoples, and should therefore know more about them.

As may be guessed, this adds up to a tremendous amount of odd and assorted information. Fortunately, Mr. Furnas is well qualified to present it in a continually interesting, and often quite amusing, manner. For either intermittent or continuous reading, it is a wonderful source of a great variety of facts. The addition of an excellent bibliography and index give promise of its being an equally valuable reference book.

JAMES O. FREDERICK.

CONTRIBUTORS

Dorothy THOMPSON is the well known journalist and columnist, who has long been an interpreter of German affairs.

Rev. George A. KELLY is a chaplain for ACTU in New York.

Jessica POWERS is Sister Miriam of the Holy Spirit, D. C.

John COURNOS, critic and essayist, is an anthologist of short story collections.

Frances S. CHILDS teaches at Brooklyn College and is active in the Catholic Association for International Peace.

James L. DUFF is the poetry editor of the Los Angeles *Tidings.*

Rev. Leo J. TRESE is the pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Carleton, Mich., and Rural Life Director in the Archdiocese of Detroit.

Virginia BENNETT is on the editorial staff of Devin-Adair in New York.

James O. FREDERICK is a graduate student at Columbia University.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Educational Directory

PREP SCHOOLS—RHODE ISLAND

PORTSMOUTH PRIORY SCHOOL

Portsmouth, Rhode Island. 23 miles from Providence, 8 miles from Newport, on inland waters of Narragansett Bay. Conducted by American Monks of the English Benedictine Congregation, assisted by Lay Masters. Five forms, 8th grade and four years of high school. Standard Preparatory Course for all colleges and technical schools. Added opportunities in Mathematics and Languages. College Board Examination. Full facilities for athletics including sailing. Address Secretary.

NEW JERSEY

DELBARTON SCHOOL

Morristown, New Jersey. An hour's drive from the George Washington Bridge or Holland Tunnel. A country day and boarding school for boys conducted by Benedictine Monks. Six forms, comprising the 7th and 8th grades and four years of college preparatory courses. Small classes. Thorough guidance department. Complete athletic program. Write for prospectus to the Headmaster.

OHIO

GILMOUR ACADEMY

Gates Mills (Cleveland), Ohio. A Resident Preparatory School for Boys. Conducted by The Brothers of Holy Cross, Notre Dame, Ind. Situated in the picturesque Chagrin Valley in suburban Cleveland, enjoying the facilities afforded by the city's libraries, galleries and museums. Distinctive rural-home atmosphere. 133 acre campus. Educational, cultural, and physical training programs. Fully accredited four year college preparatory course offered. Classes limited to 15 students. Brother Theophane Schmitt, C.S.C., Headmaster.

COLLEGE—MEN—RHODE ISLAND

PROVIDENCE COLLEGE

A Liberal Arts College

for Men.

Conducted by

The Dominican Fathers.

Providence, R. I.

COLLEGES—WOMEN—MARYLAND

COLLEGE OF NOTRE DAME OF MARYLAND

North Charles St., Baltimore, Maryland. An Accredited Catholic Institution for the Higher Education of Women. Conducted by the School Sisters of Notre Dame. Exceptional Advantages. For information address the Registrar.

PENNSYLVANIA

ROSEMONT COLLEGE

Rosemont, Pa. A Catholic College for Women conducted by the Religious of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus. Accredited by the Association of American Universities. Situated on the Main Line of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Eleven miles from Philadelphia. Address the Registrar for information. Telephone Bryn Mawr 4514.

COLLEGE MISERICORDIA

Dallas, Pennsylvania. A Residential and Day College for Higher Education of Women, conducted by the Sisters of Mercy of the Union—incorporated under the laws of the State of Pennsylvania, empowered to confer Degrees — A.B., B.S. in Science, B.S. in General Home Economics, B. Mus., B.S. in Secretarial Science, and Teacher-Training. Fully accredited. Address the Dean or Registrar.

SCHOOL OF NURSING

COLLEGE OF MT. ST. VINCENT SCHOOL OF NURSING

Conducted in cooperation with St. Vincent's Hospital, New York City. Offers courses leading to Diploma of Nursing and Bachelor of Science Degree with a major in Nursing. Write for Bulletin L to Director of Nursing, College of Mt. St. Vincent, Mt. St. Vincent-on-Hudson, New York 63, N. Y.

ILLINOIS

ROSARY COLLEGE

River Forest, Illinois. Conducted by the Dominican Sisters of Sinsinawa, Wisconsin. Approved by the Association of American Universities. Liberal Arts, Home Economics, Library Science. Library School accredited by American Library Association. Foreign Study Branch for Junior Year Abroad at Fribourg, Switzerland.

MINNESOTA

COLLEGE OF SAINT TERESA

Winona, Minnesota. For the Higher Education of Catholic Women. Holds membership in the North Central Association of Colleges. Accredited by the Association of American Universities. Registered for Teacher's License by New York Board of Regents. Degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science, Bachelor of Science in Nursing. A standardized Conservatory of Music is maintained in connection with the college. Picturesquely located on the upper Mississippi. One hundred acre campus. Served by the "Zephyr," "Hiawatha," "The 400."

Classified

★ Rate for your message, 10c a word. 75c a line for displayed copy. Discounts: 5% for 3 times, 10% for 7 times, 15% for 13 times.

BOOKS

★ Books: Used, Old, Rare.
For Librarians, Collectors, Readers.
Huge Stock. Reasonably Priced.
Catalogs Free. Browsers Invited.
Want Lists Solicited. Libraries Purchased.
DAUBER & PINE BOOKSHOPS, INC.
66 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

HOTEL

★ COPLEY PLAZA HOTEL
Maurice T. Lawler, *General Manager*
Boston 16, Mass.
2 minutes from Back Bay R. R. Station

IRISH BOOKS AND GIFTS

★ Books, Linens, Gifts. *Catalogs.*
IRISH INDUSTRIES DEPOT, Inc.
876 Lexington Ave. (near 65th), New York

RESEARCH

★ RESEARCH SERVICE FOR WRITERS speakers, scholars, business men; surveys, memoranda, single questions, bibliography, etc.
LIBRARY REFERENCE SERVICE
Box 1641, Washington 13, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Congratulations, sir! Your bandaged beak is a badge of honor!

It's a symbol of service . . . a sure sign that you, like most of us these days, have been keeping your nose to the grindstone—working your hardest just to keep your family living the way you want them to live.

But what of the future? Your nose can't take it forever. Someday you'll want to retire, to follow the hobbies and take the trips and do the things that you've always dreamed of doing.

That's going to take just one thing —MONEY! And will you have it when you want it?

You will if you're buying U. S. Savings Bonds *automatically*—on the Payroll Savings Plan where you work, or on the Bond-A-Month Plan at your bank.

With either plan, you're heading for real financial security. Month after month, regularly as clockwork, your money is saved for you.

It's just about the easiest, surest, fastest way of building financial security that anyone ever dreamed up.

And with U. S. Savings Bonds, you *make money* while you save it. Every $75 Bond you buy today will be worth $100 in just 10 years!

Of course, you can always buy Bonds at any bank or post office.

But the best way, the sure and steady way, is to buy 'em automatically!

Start doing it now! Keep on doing it! And in no time flat, you'll find that you're well on your way to a permanent separation of nose and grindstone!

AUTOMATIC SAVING IS SURE SAVING—U.S. SAVINGS BONDS

Contributed by this magazine in co-operation with the Magazine Publishers of America as a public service.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED